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MURDERS IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

BY WALDO L. COOK.

The period covered by this inquiry is that of 1871-92, inclusive, or 22 years. I obtained the data from the clerks of the respective county courts, and from the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners.

It will be observed that the total number of indictments and the total number of first and second degree cases have been used as separate bases of this investigation.

While the total number of indictments may stand approximately for the total number of persons killed by fellow-creatures during a given period of time, it does not measure satisfactorily the actual strength of the homicidal passion, because in that number are included the cases of defendants adjudged insane, found not guilty, still untried or discharged without a trial, and some other indeterminate factors. On the other hand, it may seem suspicious to appear to have taken no notice of the total number of indictments while confining the base of the inquiry to cases in which verdicts of guilty, either in the first or the second degree, have been rendered. At the risk of unduly complicating this article I

* An article published in the *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 20, 1893, was the nucleus of this article.

have followed out the inquiry in most particulars from the basis of both indictments and first and second degree cases. Both lines of inquiry, I may add, yield conclusions substantially the same.

The following table is a summary of indictments found for murder in all the counties of Massachusetts during the period named; of cases wherein verdicts were found of murder in the first or the second degree; of cases wherein verdicts of manslaughter were found; and of cases wherein the defendants were adjudged insane:—

Counties.	Indictments.	1st Degree.	2nd Degree.	Total of 1st and 2nd Degree.	Manslaughter.	Total of 1st and 2nd Degree and Manslaughter.	Insane.
Barnstable.....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Berkshire.....	13	2	3	5	4	9	....
Bristol.....	12	....	4	4	5	9	....
Dukes.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Essex.....	16	1	7	8	1	9	1
Franklin.....	7	....	5	5	1	6	....
Hampden.....	16	3	3	6	4	10	3
Hampshire.....	10	1	3	4	2	6	1
Middlesex.....	27	5	7	12	3	15	1
Nantucket.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Norfolk.....	15	....	4	4	2	6	6
Plymouth.....	6	2	3	5	1	6	....
Suffolk.....	67	5	21	26	13	39	1
Worcester.....	19	2	8	10	1	11	2
Total.....	209	21	68	89	37	126	16

I give the number of defendants adjudged insane without intending to make further use of the figures. The large proportion of insanity cases in Norfolk county is pronounced; and only less so in Hampden county. But the whole number in the state does not seem large enough to give weight to an assertion that the insanity plea can be or has been effectively “worked” on Massachusetts juries. The manslaughter cases do not call for further consideration.

A prominent newspaper published in Indianapolis, in a recent editorial on "The Increase of Homicide and its Cause," made this sweeping assertion:—

Statistics relating to crime indicate an increase of murder and homicide altogether disproportionate to the increase of population during the past ten years. This may be due in part to the probability that better facilities for collecting facts have secured a larger percentage of such crimes in recent years than in earlier times; nevertheless the figures and the crimes that come under the general observer's notice lead to the conclusion that the taking of human life is on the increase.

Such statements as this are not uncommon in current newspaper discussion. The *Chicago Tribune* not long ago published "the annual number of homicides" in the whole United States, in the decade from 1882 to 1891, in this form:—

Years.	Murders.	Years.	Murders.
1882	1,467	1887	2,335
1883	1,697	1888	2,184
1884	1,465	1889	3,567
1885	1,808	1890	4,290
1886	1,499	1891	5,906

That table may or may not be accurate and trustworthy, but its publication in many different journals that have come under the writer's observation indicates an impression prevailing that murders in this country are increasing with an acceleration with which the growth of the population does not keep pace. What are the facts so far as Massachusetts is concerned? To answer that question a table has been prepared, found on the next page.

In this table the twenty-two years have been divided into two periods of eleven years each, and under its respective period has been placed, first, every indictment for murder in Massachusetts, and, second, every case wherein an actual verdict was rendered of murder in the first or the second degree. On the basis of all indictments found it appears that absolutely there were 31 less cases in Massachusetts during the

Counties.	Indictments.			First and Second Degree.		
	1871-1881.	1882-1892.	Total.	1871-1881.	1882-1892.	Total.
Barnstable.....	1	....	1	....	....	....
Berkshire.....	7	6	13	4	1	5
Bristol.....	7	5	12	4	....	4
Dukes.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Essex.....	2	14	16	1	7	8
Franklin.....	4	3	7	4	1	5
Hampden.....	8	8	16	3	3	6
Hampshire.....	4	6	10	2	2	4
Middlesex.....	13	14	27	6	6	12
Nantucket.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Norfolk.....	11	4	15	4	....	4
Plymouth.....	4	2	6	3	2	5
Suffolk.....	48	19	67	20	6	26
Worcester.....	11	8	19	5	5	10
Total.....	120	89	209	56	33	89

period 1882-92 than during the period 1871-81, the percentage of decrease being 25.8. In first and second degree cases there was during the second period, comparing it with the first, an absolute decrease of 41.07 per cent throughout the commonwealth. Relative to the great expansion in the state's population, meanwhile, that decrease during the second period of 11 years is seen to be much more pronounced than the figures indicate. Whatever may be the fact concerning the country at large, homicides in Massachusetts have been decreasing rather than increasing.

The decrease that is apt to appear most surprising is that of Suffolk county, which, practically speaking, is the city of Boston with its "slums." During the second period, as compared with the first, there was an absolute decrease of 60.4 per cent in the number of indictments, and an absolute decrease of 70 per cent in first and second degree cases. The showing of the four western counties of Berkshire, Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden, combined, divides between the two periods as 23 to 23 in indictments, and as 13 to 7, or a decrease of 46.1 per cent, in first and second degree

cases. Taking into account the increase of population, the four western counties show a movement for the better on the basis of the indictments. The increased tendency toward homicide in Essex county during the later period seems an eccentricity that need not detain us. The main point, finally to be noted as the result of this brief analysis, is that Boston with its "slums" and foreign population has progressed, so far as this crime is concerned, with a much greater acceleration than the more sparsely settled region of Western Massachusetts.

The following statistics of Suffolk county, by years, which are worth giving, because of the importance of Boston in such an inquiry, were obtained from the secretary of the Massachusetts state board of prison commissioners :—

SUFFOLK COUNTY BY YEARS.

Years.	Indictments.	1st Degree.	2nd Degree.	Man-slaughter.
1871	1	....	....	....
1872	6	1	....	1
1873	5	....	1	1
1874	10	1	3	1
1875	7	2	....	....
1876	4	....	3	....
1877	3	....	2	1
1878	2	....	2	....
1879	5	....	3	....
1880	3	....	1	2
1881	2	....	1	1
1882	1	....	....	1
1883	1	....	1	....
1884	1	1	....	....
1885	4	....	....	2
1886	....	....	....	....
1887	5	....	1	1
1888	....	....	....	....
1889	....	....	....	....
1890	1	....	....	1
1891	2	....	2	...
1892	4	....	1	1
Total.....	67	5	21	13

I will now analyze the figures for the period of 22 years as a whole with special reference to the relative standing of

the different sections of the state. Inasmuch as populations have to be considered in treating figures based on the ancient and arbitrary county lines of the commonwealth, the following table of populations is inserted : —

Counties.	1870.	1890.
Barnstable.....	32,774	29,172
Berkshire.....	64,826	81,108
Bristol.....	102,886	186,465
Dukes.....	3,787	4,369
Essex.....	200,843	299,995
Franklin.....	32,635	38,610
Hampden.....	78,407	135,713
Hampshire.....	44,388	51,859
Middlesex.....	274,353	431,167
Nantucket.....	4,123	3,268
Norfolk.....	89,443	118,950
Plymouth.....	65,365	92,700
Suffolk.....	270,802	484,780
Worcester.....	192,718	280,787
Total.....	1,457,352	2,238,943

Referring now to the first table the first fact to be disposed of is that Nantucket and Dukes counties, during this whole period, have not had a single indictment for murder. Barnstable has had one indictment which resulted in the defendant being adjudged insane. The three counties have an aggregate population of over 35,000. Including Plymouth, one has a group of counties having a total population of 129,509, in 1890, against which have been charged but seven indictments for murder, or only five first and second degree cases. These four counties are not thickly settled, and their population in a considerable degree engage in maritime pursuits. Their littoral is much more than half of the total littoral of the commonwealth.

Observe now that the five counties of Barnstable, Nantucket, Dukes, Plymouth, and Bristol, the last named containing the manufacturing cities of Fall River and Taunton, and also New Bedford, had in 1890 a total population of

316,074, against which 19 indictments were charged, or nine first and second degree cases. These five counties cover all the territory southeast of the Norfolk county line, which extends from Rhode Island's northeast corner to the Massachusetts Bay.

Consider the western end of the state, namely, the four counties of Berkshire, Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden. In 1890 they had a total population of 307,290. The record of those four counties compared with the five southeastern counties, which had in 1890 a total population of 316,074, may be seen in the two tables that follow:—

FIVE SOUTHEASTERN COUNTIES.—POPULATION, 316,074 IN 1890.

Counties.	Indictments.	1st Degree.	2nd Degree.	Total 1st and 2nd Degrees.	Manslaughter.	Total 1st and 2nd Degrees and Manslaughter.
Bristol.....	12	....	4	4	5	9
Plymouth.....	6	2	3	5	1	6
Barnstable.....	1	....	....	....	....	....
Dukes.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Nantucket.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total.....	19	2	7	9	6	15

FOUR WESTERN COUNTIES.—POPULATION, 307,290 IN 1890.

Counties.	Indictments.	1st Degree.	2nd Degree.	Total 1st and 2nd Degrees.	Manslaughter.	Total 1st and 2nd Degrees and Manslaughter.
Hampden.....	16	3	3	6	4	10
Berkshire.....	13	2	3	5	4	9
Franklin.....	7	....	5	5	1	6
Hampshire.....	10	1	3	4	2	6
Total.....	46	6	14	20	11	31

These two sections of Massachusetts began the period under consideration with substantially the same aggregate

populations, namely, in 1870, 220,258 for Western Massachusetts, and 208,935 for Southeastern Massachusetts. Southeastern Massachusetts grew faster in population than Western Massachusetts, yet at the close of 1892 one finds that the crime of homicide, speaking in general terms, has been at least 100 per cent the more prevalent in the four western counties.

One may throw these figures of the various counties into a great variety of combinations, and obtain results that appear to the disadvantage of the combined four western counties. Middlesex, for example, will be found with a far better record than the smaller population of the four western counties. So, too, in the case of Essex, which contains the thriving cities of Lawrence, Lynn, and Salem, and which offers a very fair comparison on the basis of population. Even Worcester county, the "heart of the commonwealth," which contains one city of good size, in the comparison shows a balance of crime against the four western counties that is out of proportion to the difference in the populations of the two sections.

The consideration of the statistics of Suffolk county may be said to open the subject of the relation of urban to suburban and rural homicides. The county of Middlesex, which contains Lowell, Cambridge, Somerville, and Malden, as well as a large suburban district of smaller cities, where are the residences of an army of workers in Boston, offers a fair basis of comparison with Suffolk on the basis of population. But the weaker tendency in Middlesex to commit homicide is very marked, having in mind the whole 22 years. Suffolk, with 484,780 population in 1890, has a total of 67 indictments. The four counties of Bristol, Essex, Norfolk, and Middlesex, with 1,036,577 population in 1890, have a combined total of but 70 indictments. Suffolk has a total of 26 first and second degree cases. Bristol, Essex, Norfolk, and Middlesex, with over twice Suffolk's population, have a combined total of 28 first and second degree cases. Those figures

indicate that the tendency to homicide is almost twice as strong in the metropolitan county, or district, as it is in the four surrounding counties above named, which may be said to comprise the great suburban district of Massachusetts.

Leaving out of account the maritime southeastern counties, as being exceptional, one must take the four western counties as best representing in Massachusetts the agricultural or "rural" districts. These four counties can make no such showing as do the four suburban counties referred to in the preceding paragraph when compared with the metropolitan district. In 1890 the population of the four western counties was 63.3 per cent of the population of Suffolk. Now the four western counties have charged against them 46 indictments, or 68.6 per cent of the indictments charged against Suffolk. Even on the basis of indictments the four western counties show a tendency toward homicide that runs the tendency in Suffolk a "stiff" race.

Compare Suffolk with the four western counties on the basis of first and second degree cases alone. The figures are as 26 to 20. While the population of the four western counties is 63.3 per cent of Suffolk's population, the former's total of first and second degree cases is 76.8 per cent of Suffolk's total. When one considers the great differences in the character of urban and rural population the results of this analysis cannot fail to prove of interest. For on this basis one finds certain rural counties having a decidedly stronger tendency toward the homicidal crimes than the metropolitan district.

I will now show how the 28 Massachusetts cities stand in the matter of homicidal tendency as compared with the towns which contain the non-urban population. The following table shows the number of indictments and first and second degree cases charged against each city: —

Cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2nd Degrees.	Cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2nd Degrees.
Boston.....	67	26	Somerville.....	5	2
Salem.....	2	....	Fitchburg.....	1	....
Lowell.....	2	1	Holyoke.....	*6	1
Cambridge.....	2	2	Gloucester.....	1	1
New Bedford.....	1	....	Newton.....	....	....
Worcester.....	2	2	Malden.....	4	2
Lynn.....	1	1	Brockton.....	1	1
Newburyport.....	....	....	Northampton.....	2	....
Springfield.....	2	....	Waltham.....	....	....
Lawrence.....	2	2	Quincy.....	....	....
Fall River.....	8	3	Woburn.....	....	....
Chelsea.....	....	....	Pittsfield.....	....	....
Taunton.....	1	1	Chicopee.....	2	1
Haverill.....	....	....	Marlboro.....	....	....
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	112	46

* Three against one defendant who was adjudged insane.

In 1890 about 70 per cent of the population of the commonwealth was to be found residing in those 28 cities. However, only 53.5 per cent of the total number of indictments, and only 51.6 per cent of the total number of first and second degree cases, are found charged against the cities of Massachusetts. The 30 per cent of the population living outside the cities in 1890 must bear the odium of displaying, during the period of 1871-92, a tendency to homicidal crime nearly equal to that shown by the 70 per cent in the cities. Taken in connection with the results of the analysis of the state by counties, as shown in the preceding pages, it appears already demonstrated that in Massachusetts there is less resistance to the homicidal tendency among the non-urban than among the urban population.

I will now continue my analysis of homicidal crime in the four western counties, comprising that section of the state which is most essentially "rural." One finds first that of all the counties of the state Franklin and Hampshire, in proportion to their population, have the blackest records; and especially so on the basis of the first and second degree cases.

On that basis Franklin, which has not a single town of more than 6000 inhabitants, stands at the very bottom. Hampshire, on this basis, shows up somewhat better than Franklin, having a larger population. The population of Franklin county, it should be observed, has remained almost stationary during the 22 years. In neither Hampshire nor Franklin counties, moreover, is located any of the three largest cities of Western Massachusetts, which are Springfield, Holyoke, and Pittsfield.

Let us now trace the cases of homicide in Western Massachusetts down to the towns and cities themselves. The following tables are summaries of facts which I wish to present in this connection:—

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.—POPULATION, 81,108 IN 1890.

Towns or cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2d Degrees.	Population in 1885.	Population in 1890.	Loss.	Gain.
Adams.....	2	1	8,283	9,213	....	930
Otis.....	1	1	703	583	120	.. .
Sheffield.....	1	1	2,033	1,954	79	....
Richmond.....	1	....	854	796	58	....
Clarksburg.....	1	1	708	884	....	176
Cheshire.....	2	....	1,448	1,308	140	....
Lenox.....	1	....	2,154	2,889	....	735
Great Barrington.....	1	....	4,471	4,612	....	141
Washington.....	1	1	470	434	36	....
Total.....	11*	5	....	....	....	....

* There is a discrepancy here of two as compared with the total of 13 given in former tables. But in tracing down the indictments I have been unable to locate these two, which were included in the official report of the Secretary of the State Board of Prison Commissioners, but which were not included by the clerk of Berkshire county in his personal report to me, very probably through a mere oversight.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.—POPULATION, 38,610 IN 1890.

Towns or Cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2d Degrees.	Population in 1885.	Population in 1890.	Loss.	Gain.
Shutesbury.....	2	2	485	453	32	....
Coleraine.....	2	2	1,605	1,671	....	66
Deerfield.....	2	1	3,042	2,910	132	....
Montague.....	1	....	5,629	6,296	....	667
Total.....	7	5	....	.....	....	....

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.—POPULATION, 51,859 IN 1890.

Towns or Cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2d Degrees.	Population in 1885.	Population in 1890.	Loss.	Gain.
Hatfield.....	1	....	1,367	1,246	121	....
Pelham.....	2	2	549	486	63	....
Chesterfield.....	1	....	698	608	90	....
Amherst.....	1	1	4,199	4,512	....	313
Enfield.....	1	1	1,010	952	58	....
Easthampton.....	2	....	4,291	4,395	....	104
Northampton.....	2	....	12,896	14,990	...	2,094
Total.....	10	4	.....	.....	....	....

HAMPDEN COUNTY.—POPULATION, 135,713 IN 1890.

Towns or Cities.	Indictments.	1st and 2d Degrees.	Population in 1885.	Population in 1890.	Loss.	Gain.
Westfield.....	1	1	8,961	9,805	....	984
Holyoke.....	6	1	27,895	35,637	....	7,742
Springfield.....	2	....	37,575	44,179	....	6,604
Longmeadow.....	1	....	1,677	2,183	....	506
Southwick.....	1	1	982	914	68	....
West Springfield.....	1	1	4,448	5,077	....	629
Palmer.....	1	1	5,923	6,520	....	597
Chicopee.....	2	1	11,516	14,050	....	2,534
Ludlow.....	1	....	1,649	1,939	....	290
Total.....	16	6	.....	.....	....	....

Twenty towns, of which 12 show a declining population, are charged with 25 indictments, while six cities are charged with 12 indictments. Those 20 towns had a combined population of 36,355 in 1890, while the six cities had a population of 142,211 in 1890. The 20 towns, with about one-quarter as much population as the six cities, have had over twice as many indictments for murder. The six Western Massachusetts cities have had but little more than one-quarter of all the indictments in the four counties, yet their population is nearly one-half of the population of the four western counties. It should be added that the 20 towns referred to above, of which 12 show a declining population, are these: Otis, Shef-

field, Richmond, Clarksburg, Cheshire, Lenox, Great Barrington, Washington, Shutesbury, Coleraine, Deerfield, Montague, Hatfield, Pelham, Chesterfield, Ashfield, Enfield, Easthampton, Ludlow, and Southwick. The six cities are Springfield, Holyoke, Northampton, Chicopee, Pittsfield, and North Adams, the last named being thus classified here because of its population, for it is not really governed under a city charter.

This phase of the subject works out in the same way if we consider only the first and second degree cases. Of the 20 murders of that sort in Western Massachusetts since 1870, 15 were committed in the small rural or "hillside" towns where the churches find it difficult to exist. The five first and second degree murders in Berkshire county were committed in Otis, Sheffield, Clarksburg, Adams, and Washington, and of these towns Otis, Sheffield, and Washington are declining in population. Since 1850, I may add, Otis and Sheffield have each had two bad cases of murder. But, on the other hand, the city of Pittsfield has had none since 1870, and only one since 1850.

In Franklin county the murder cases of the first and second degree have been in Shutesbury, Coleraine, and Deerfield, of which Shutesbury and Coleraine have each had two cases. Shutesbury and Deerfield show a decreasing population, while Coleraine gained but 66 between 1885 and 1890. A more recent Franklin county murder of a flagrant sort, which is not included in this inquiry because it was not disposed of until 1893, was that committed in Wendell by Edward Begor, September 4, 1892. Begor was committed to the state's prison for life for the murder of Abigail Rogers. Wendell is a little town of 505 inhabitants, according to the census of 1890.

The four first and second degree cases in Hampshire county are charged against Pelham, Amherst, and Enfield. Pelham and Enfield both belong to the list of towns that are decreasing in population.

The six cases in Hampden county are charged against Westfield, Holyoke, Southwick, West Springfield, Palmer, and Chicopee. The Holyoke case was as far back as 1874. All of these places, except Southwick, are much larger than the average rural town; but it seems clear that even in Hampden county these cases of violent murder tend to hide away in the more sparsely settled districts. The case in Westfield dates back to 1873, when that town was much smaller than it is now. The case of Wallace W. Holmes, who was hanged, had for its location a very lonely region on the outskirts of Chicopee.

Continuing on the first and second degree basis we find that the nine little way-back towns of Otis, Sheffield, Clarksburg, Washington, Shutesbury, Coleraine, Pelham, Enfield, and Southwick, all of which, except Clarksburg and Coleraine, decreased in population between 1885 and 1890, with a total population in 1890 of 8331, have had 11 of these murder cases since 1870. The four towns of Otis, Washington, Shutesbury, and Pelham, with a total population of 1956, and all of which belong to the list of towns having decreasing populations, have had six of these murder cases during that period. Yet the city of Springfield, with 44,179 inhabitants in 1890, according to the same standard, has not had a single case. The city of Holyoke, with its population of 35,637, and its large proportion of mill operatives, has had but one such case. The six communities of Springfield, Holyoke, Northampton, Chicopee, Pittsfield, and North Adams, with a total population of 142,211, have had altogether but two of these murder cases since 1870. That four little "hill" towns, with only 1956 inhabitants, should have had absolutely three times as many of these first and second degree murders as the six largest municipalities, containing altogether nearly 150,000 souls, is very interesting, to say the least.

I propose now, as briefly as possible, to indicate the character of the first and second degree murders that are charged to these four western counties. By so doing I may succeed

in bringing out interesting or valuable facts in connection with the very strong tendency, comparatively speaking, of the small rural towns to homicidal crime. In order to get this information I have studied the files of the *Springfield Republican*, the accuracy of whose reports can be depended upon.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

On May 14, 1871, Lyman White shot and killed Calvin Carter at Shutesbury. They were both natives, of American stock, and were cousins. White was 50 years old. His wife had left him 20 years before, because of his ugly disposition, and since then he had lived alone in rural solitude, spending most of his time in hunting and fishing. A grudge had existed between White and Carter for a long time. On the day of the murder they had agreed to be friends again, but after they had parted friends White returned, somewhat intoxicated, yet conscious of his actions, and committed the murder in a perfectly wanton spirit. Afterwards, when told that Carter had died, White declared that he had intended to kill him, and was glad he had succeeded. White was found guilty of murder in the second degree.

On September 7, 1875, Daniel J. Dwight and Herbert A. Davenport, aged 17 and 19 years, respectively, killed Joseph R. Farnsworth, 35 years old, at Coleraine. The weapons were clubs, and the motive was simple robbery. Dwight and Davenport were country boys of native stock, and were regarded as bad characters. Farnsworth lived in a sterile corner of Coleraine called the "Catamount region." "Residents of this vicinity," says the newspaper report of the crime, "are ignorant and poor." The murderers were convicted of murder in the second degree. Concerning Coleraine, a paragraph that appeared in the *Republican*, August 9, 1880, which was probably written by a resident of that town, throws considerable light upon the social conditions there. The paragraph was: —

Coleraine is one of the hill towns which has suffered from the location of railroads at a distance from it. Some 45 or 50 years ago more business was done there than in any other town in Franklin county. It was the center of trade for all adjacent towns, and, to some extent, even the people of Greenfield went there to buy. Six four-horse teams regularly ran to Boston carrying produce and bringing back store goods. Vast quantities of lime were sold, people going 20 miles for it. Now, were it not for the cotton mills, of which there are three, the population would have been diminished at least one half; as it is, it is 400 or more less than it once was.

On August 8, 1880, Nelson J. Phelps, 24 years old, shot and killed Sarah A. Grover, 19, at Shutesbury. The location of the crime was a lonely highway in the woods. It was peculiarly shocking in its details. Miss Grover was Phelps's mistress, and it was just after having had criminal intercourse with her that the young man deliberately, and in cold blood, killed her. In its report of this murder, the *Republican* said:—

The little town of Shutesbury, perched on the eastern hills of Franklin county, which has of late years gained unenviable notoriety through numerous arrests for bigamy and polygamy, now furnishes the lengthening annals of crime in the country places of Western Massachusetts with a shocking murder of a woman and a probable suicide. (Phelps, after killing the girl, had tried unsuccessfully to kill himself.) . . . The cause of the murder was jealousy growing out of the refusal of the woman, who had once left Phelps, to live with him again. Both were Americans, the girl, who is scarcely 19 years old, the daughter of A. J. Grover, a respectable farmer of Turner's Falls, and the man, whose age is 21, more intelligent than most of the northern "poor white trash" to which his associations attach him. . . . If he has any occupation, he is a horse jockey. The affair is a grim commentary upon the boasted purity and uprightness of the old country towns of the state.

The remaining Franklin county case was the murder by Eugene S. Taylor, May 19, 1886, of his two-year-old boy, George. Taylor was a farmer living in Deerfield, under the

shadow of the hills. He had come from Vermont, and was a sober and industrious man. He bought some poison and put it inside some candy which he gave to the delighted child. Then he cut his own throat. The child died and the father lived. Taylor had lived happily with his wife, but he had become despondent and morbid over the hard conditions and ill-fortune of his farming.

These four Franklin county cases display New England rural civilization in the last quarter of the 19th century in as many different aspects. There was the murder by the man who had a grudge, and who had brooded over it for a long time in the solitude of the woods; there was the murder for the sake of money by depraved country boys; there was the murder and attempted suicide caused by unbridled lust of woman; and, finally, there was the murder and attempted self-murder by a man whose mind had evidently become unbalanced through the hard conditions of a small farmer's life on the hillsides of Western Massachusetts.

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

Allan J. Adams killed Moses B. Dickinson November 25, 1875. Dickinson was a farmer who lived alone outside Amherst town. Adams came along tramp fashion and was hired by Dickinson to do farm work. The murder was done with an axe, and the motive was robbery. Adams was of native stock, lazy, and of very low type of character. He was a cider drinker. He had a sister in Vermont who wrote a letter saying that Adams was one of six children, all of whom had had fits when children. One brother had hanged himself.

Marion A. Montgomery shot and killed his six-year-old son December 26, 1882, at Pelham. He tried unsuccessfully at the same time to kill his four-year-old daughter. Montgomery was of native stock. He had been living in Kansas. His wife, it appeared, had been guilty of unbecoming conduct with another man, and jealousy and hatred of her in-

flamed the husband to such an extent that he tried to kill the children.

Charles A. Briggs, 21 years old, killed Charles Stetson with a pistol. April 12, 1881, also at Pelham. Both were country boys of American stock. Briggs paid attentions to Stetson's wife, who had left her husband. The three met at a "country dance" in a cider mill, to which Briggs had escorted Stetson's wife. There was a quarrel over the woman at the dance, resulting in the murder. Like many country boys of his loose character, Briggs carried a pistol.

Jonathan B. Davis shot and killed Eva Mabel Holden at Enfield, September 20, 1890. This was also a "girl affair." Eva went to a "country dance" with another young man, so Davis waylaid the couple on their way home from the ball in the night and shot them both, killing Miss Holden. Davis claimed that the girl "belonged" to him. Davis was a young American of rather weak mind and sensual, low impulses.

Two of these Hampshire county murders were the outgrowth of the lust for women, with the "country dance" as an accompanying and salient feature. One was caused by the indiscretions of a woman acting upon the jealous, brooding nature of a man. The remaining one was a butchery of an old man, done for robbery, under the easy conditions of rural solitude.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Charles Wood killed Hannah Maria Hazard, September 10, 1876, at Otis. Wood was a young Frenchman, not a native. He was a tramp farm hand, and during a storm found refuge at the isolated farm house of the Hazards, an aged couple. Obeying an impulse to the murder, he picked up an axe, attacked the man, who escaped, and then killed the woman in most brutal fashion.

John Ten Eyck, 46 years old, colored, killed Mr. and Mrs. David Stillman, November 29, 1877, at Sheffield, with an axe. The victims were both over 70 years of age, and they lived

alone in a solitary farm house. The unprovoked butchery was horrible, and after the murder Ten Eyck tried to burn the house. Ten Eyck was born in Connecticut and was reared in Lenox, Mass. He had a quarrelsome disposition, and was something of a jail bird. His occupation was that of farm laborer. Ten Eyck was known as a cider drinker, but was not intoxicated when he committed the crime.

William Montgomery shot and killed George W. Ellis at Adams November 1, 1878. Montgomery was a drinking man, and his ugly temper led him to shoot Ellis because, at a game of cards in his house, Ellis refused to pay for the use of the cards. Montgomery was not intoxicated at the time of the murder, although drink had doubtless affected his temper.

John C. Daily killed James P. Spellman at Clarksburg April 4, 1879, by beating and kicking. Spellman was an old itinerant scissors grinder. Daily quarrelled with him over a job. The latter was a drinking man, and kept a country "hotel" on the state line between Massachusetts and Vermont. The house was very isolated in its location. Daily, judging by his name, was of Irish descent, but there was nothing in the reports of the murder to show that he was not of American birth and rearing.

William Coy killed John Whalen with an axe at Washington August 30, 1891. Coy was a native of Washington, and was employed as a farm hand and railroad track hand. He killed Whalen while the latter slept, then sawed up the dead body and buried it in a lonely spot on the mountain side. The motive was partly robbery, but Coy's wife was prominent in the affair. She had been unfaithful to her husband, and had started to elope with Whalen.

Of these five Berkshire murders three were done in atrocious fashion with an axe, and one was done by beating and kicking. With the exception perhaps of the Adams case, all were committed in the unrestraining environment of rural solitude. The Otis and Sheffield murders of inoffensive old people were different from anything we have met in Franklin

or Hampshire counties, or will meet in Hampden county. But they were peculiarly murders of rural life, where the unbridled passions and ferocious instincts of tramps and ugly laborers of low character find little resistance.

HAMPDEN COUNTY.

Albert H. Smith shot and killed Charles D. Sackett at Westfield November 20, 1872. Smith and Sackett sought the same girl. Smith met Sackett and the girl coming from an entertainment, and out of jealousy killed his rival. Smith was an American.

James Moran killed Stephen F. Lambert, an old man, with stones, near Ashley ponds, on the outskirts of Holyoke, May 3, 1874. Moran was an Irishman, and with some cronies had been carousing. He was "crazy drunk" when he killed Lambert. Moran was an Irishman of low grade.

Joseph B. Loomis, 25 years old, shot and killed David Leavitt, his chum, at Southwick, December 1, 1881. The motive was robbery, and the deed was slyly committed while the two were riding in a carriage. Loomis was the son of a Southwick farmer, and had been rated a "bad boy."

John Daly shot and killed Winslow M. Abbott at West Springfield August 31, 1889, while Abbott was trying to arrest him at his house on a warrant for drunkenness. Daly was an elderly Irishman, a drinker, and a farm hand. He was sober when he shot.

Edward F. Costello, 28 years old, shot and killed his infant son, and tried to kill his wife, at Palmer, June 11, 1890. Costello was an Irishman, and was a railroad hand. There had been domestic troubles which caused jealousy.

Wallace W. Holmes, 50 years old, kicked his wife into insensibility and then buried her alive on the outskirts of Chicopee, in a lonely quarter, in September, 1891. Holmes was a native American with a good war record. He was low and depraved and drank some, but was not drunk at the time of his crime.

These Hampden county murders for the most part were in the larger centres of population. The two most flagrant of them were committed respectively at Southwick and on the outskirts of Chicopee. Even in the comparatively populous Hampden one finds the worst cases of homicide following the line of rural solitude, or of least resistance.

Summarizing briefly the four counties: All the murderers were men, and, with one or two exceptions, were Americans of the older stock. They killed thirteen men, five women, and two children. The method was: By shooting, ten; by beating (with feet, missiles, or clubs), four; by the axe, four; by poison, one. Of the four cases where the axe was used three were in Berkshire county. The more atrocious and flagrant murders were hidden away in the more remote localities, in general following the line of least resistance. The motives were variouſts, of course, but simple desire for butchery and unbridled lust for women appear to have been conspicuous. The motive of robbery is also conspicuous. Only one of these murderers was drunk at the time of the crime.

It is puzzling, perhaps, that the tendency to homicide in remote maritime localities, such as Nantucket, Dukes, and Barnstable counties, should show itself so strong in an opposite direction from that observable in Franklin county. Perhaps the influence of the sea and its pursuits upon the environment should be considered. However, without pausing to amplify that point, it is probable that, in trying to explain the low position of the rural communities of the four western counties, nearly every thinker would make statements substantially like these: The best stock of the old families has been leaving the hillside farms for years and going to the West or to the cities. The least desirable of the old native stock has been left at home. Population has dwindled, and the consequent inter-marriages between relatives have perhaps caused deterioration in many families. Then, again, very many rural towns have been left isolated by the railroads; the churches have grown weak and of little account

as a barrier against social degeneration. The solitude of rural life leaves men more a prey to brooding over real or fancied wrongs or grievances. Finally, the lack of police restraint in small towns allows ample scope to unbridled passions, and to innate ferocity. Perhaps this lack of close police supervision is a very considerable factor in the bad record of the rural Massachusetts district as regards homicide. It would be unwarranted to say that the rural population has a stronger innate tendency to commit murder than the population of the metropolis. Although the figures may be against the rural communities, one must remember that a city like Boston is watchfully guarded day and night by a great police force, which can act the more effectively by reason of the great concentration of the population within a very small territory. However, under present conditions, such a lack of restraint from the law and police officers of society is an unavoidable accompaniment of rural life.

The main conclusions which this inquiry justifies are:—

First, the tendency to homicidal crime has been decreasing in Massachusetts as a whole.

Second, there is less resistance to the homicidal impulse in non-urban communities than in the urban ones. The crime of homicide appears to follow the line of least resistance, and the sparsely settled rural districts, particularly in the four western counties, have the blackest records.